1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

very aged men and women were seen among them, some of whom thought they had lived about one hundred years. They frequently told me and others that when they were young men, their people did not marry so early as they did since, that even at twenty they were called boys and durst not wear a breech-cloth, as the men did at that time, but had only a small bit of a skin hanging before them. Neither, did they say, were they subject to so many disorders as in later times, and many of them calculated on dying of old age. But since that time a great change has taken place in the constitution of those Indians who live nearest to the whites. By the introduction of ardent spirits among them, they have been led into vices which have brought on disorders which they say were unknown before; their blood became corrupted by a shameful complaint, which the Europeans pretend to have received from the original inhabitants of America, while these say they had never known or heard of it until the Europeans came among them. Now the Indians are infected with it to a great degree; children frequently inherit it from their parents, and after lingering for a few years at last die victims to this poison.

Those Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age, from 70 to 90. Few arrive at the age of one hundred years. The women, in general, live longer than the men.

The Indians do not appear to be more or less exempt than the whites from the common infirmities of old age. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, their sight, and their teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood and not able to help themselves.

The Indian women are not in general so prolific as those of the white race. I imagine this defect is owing to the vicious and dissolute life they lead since the introduction of spirituous liquors. Among our Christian Indians, we have had a couple who had been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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881 and guards her so that none may see her... she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head...,[46]

De Vries also noted that these girls hid behind a garment "which they throw over their body drawing it over the head so that one can barely [783] see their *eyes*."[47] The emphasis during menstruation was on uncleanliness and the necessity of isolation from society.[48] A girl could not touch her hair during her first isolation, food was eaten with a stick, and no meat was eaten.[49] In the last century, and perhaps earlier, a girl could not look in a mirror or talk to people (N.D.). At the end of the seclusion the girl's mother washed her hair, bathed her, and gave her new clothes. The idea was impressed upon the girl that she was now a woman and was henceforth to give up the toys and activities of childhood.[50] The same general restrictions applied to menstruating women.[51]

836 Little is known about premarital chastity in early historic times.
548 Denton said, however: "Any maid before she is married doth lie with whom she please for money without any scandal, or the least aspersion to be cast upon her it being so customary, & their laws tolerating it."[52]

Marriage

582 After the boys had proved themselves to be adequate hunters and the girls had passed through their first seclusion, they were considered
884 ready for marriage. This took place at about the age of seventeen or eighteen for boys and thirteen or fourteen for girls.[53] A girl showed her marriageability by wearing some sort of headpiece and by modestly covering the face with a portion of clothing when in public.[54] De Vries [301] said further that girls "deck themselves with a quantity of zeewan [wampum] upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain."[55]

584 Several different ways of arranging marriages and several types of marriage ceremony have been recorded for the Delawares. Some of this variety was probably due to diffusion from other Indian cultures or from Euro-American civilization, but it was also possible that there were variations among the diverse Delawaran peoples. Four seventeenth-century sources stated that girls were courted with wampum.[56] In later times, at least, relatives or go-betweens arranged the marriage. According to Heckewelder the prospective bridegroom's mother usually initiated the negotiations; according to Trowbridge the father of the

[46] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[47] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; also Loskiel, 1794, p. 56.
[48] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77; N.D., G.A.
[49] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[50] N.D. See section on Mythology in Chap. IV for an account of a girl who refused to part with her dolls.
[51] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[52] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[53] Penn, 1912, p. 231; Holm, 1834, pp. 127-28; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 75; Loskiel, 1794, p. 63.
[54] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Penn, 1912, p. 231.
[55] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.
[56] *Ibid.*; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 106; Denton, 1845, p. 9; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 202.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The clans seem to have been territorial units of a loose sort. The family hunting territories were grouped together (See Chap. II) into larger "communal territories." These larger geographical units should probably be equated with the clans. The numerous small settlements were probably inhabited by subdivisions of the clans, either maternal lineages or extended families. It is possible that several different clan units, or subunits, inhabited these settlements, but it seems more likely, on the basis of their size, that this was not so. Men probably sought wives in nearby villages. If this was true, or if there was village endogamy because several clans occupied one village, then men could continue to hunt in their maternally inherited hunting territories. Even if this was not so, it seems entirely possible that in a relatively short space of time men could become well enough acquainted with a wife's hunting territory to be able to hunt there effectively.

Matrilineally related women communally tilled their outlying garden plots. In addition to co-operation in subsistence activities and mutual aid in general, clan members "were theoretically supposed to avenge the death of one of their number, or, in case of a kinsman's forfeiting his right to live through the murder of a member of another lineage, to buy back his life by the payment of blood money."[130] The leading matron of the clan was termed "chiefmaker,"[131] since it was she who could remove and appoint, within the rules of inheritance, the clan chief or sachem. Clans were not totemic, but were named for some "peculiarity of their ancestors or from some locality once frequented by them."[132] L.H. Morgan, the first investigator to list them, said that each clan was "composed of twelve subgentes, each having some of the attributes of a gens."[133] Morgan's "subgentes" are herein reproduced:[134]

1. Wolf. Took'-seat

1. Mĭ-an'-greet, Big Feet
2. Wee-sow-het'-ko, Yellow Tree
3. Pĭ-sa-kun-ĭ'-mon, Pulling Corn
4. We-yar-nih'-kĭ-to, Care Enterer
5. Toosh-war-ka'-ma, Across the River
6. O-lum'-a-ne, Vermilion
7. Pun-ar'-you, Dog standing by Fireside
8. Kwin-eek'cha, Long Body
9. Moon-har-tar'ne, Digging
10. Non-har'-min, Pulling up Stream
11. Long-ush-har-kar'-to, Brush Log
12. Maw-soo-toh', Bringing Along

2. Turtle. Poke-koo-un'go

1. O-ka-ho'-ki, Ruler
2. Ta-ko-ong'-o-to, High Bank Shore
3. See-har-ong'-o-to, Drawing down Hill
4. Ole-har-kar-me'kar-to, Elector
5. Mĭ-har-o-luk'-ti, Brave
6. Toosh-ki-pa-kwis-i, Green Leaves
7. Tung-ul-ung'-si, Smallest Turtle
8. We-lun-ĭng-sil, Little Turtle
9. Lee-kwin-ĭ-i', Snapping Turtle
10. Kwis-aese-kees'-to, Deer

The two remaining subgentes are extinct.

3. Turkey. Pul-is'-ook

1. Mo-har-ĭ'-lĭ, Big Bird
7. Tong-o-nĭ'-o-to, Drift Log

[130] Wallace, 1949, p. 8
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[133] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

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614 2. Le-le-wa'-you, Bird's Cry
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho'-ki, Eye Pain
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar'-au, Scratch the Path
5. O-ping-ho'-ki, Opossum Ground
6. Muh-ho-we-ki'-ken, Old Skin
8. Nool-i-mar-lar'-mo, Living in Water
9. Muh-krent-har'-ne, Root Digger
10. Mur-karm-huk-se, Red Face
11. Koo-wi-ho'ke, Pine Region
12. Oo-ckuk'-ham, Ground Scratcher

Harrington in 1913 found some of these clans still in existence in Canada. He added two that could not be associated with any of Morgan's. They were Mun'hat ko wi of the Turkey phratry and All 'ke, of the Wolf phratry.[133] There is no knowledge or memory of the clans today in Oklahoma.

614 615 Each clan was a member of one of the three phratries (Morgan's gentes), and phratry membership was a consequence of clan membership. Many of the clan names were obviously associated in meaning with their phratry: "Ground Scratcher" with Turkey phratry, "Snapping Turtle" with Turtle phratry, to give but two examples. No mention was made of the three phratries in the literature of the seventeenth century. Since the phratries had no political functions in the early period, Europeans probably did not come in contact with them. It seems unlikely that the association of every clan with a phratry in historic times represented the early pattern, when the social diversity and the spatial dispersion of the pretribal Delawares is considered. What it was like is unknown, although a looser, more informal association, probably with fewer clans in a phratry, might be postulated. As remnant peoples joined the tribe, they probably were considered kinship units, thus swelling the number of clans. In some fashion they became associated with one or another of the phratries.

615 [622] [582] In the eighteenth century phratry heads became political leaders of the Delaware tribe. This development is discussed further under Acculturation. The phratries were exogamous, at least in later historic times, since Morgan said that "in old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe [phratry] and it was the law until within the last generation...."[134] The three phratries were totemic units named for qualities of animals rather than for the animals themselves. The Tuksit were named for a quality of the wolf, "round foot," the Pilsa for a quality or attribute of the turkey, "don't chew," and the Pokuwango for the slow characteristics of the turtle, "crawling" or "dragging along."[135] For the sake of brevity, however, I shall continue the usage initiated by Morgan and refer to these groups as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle.

The primary function of the phratries was ceremonial: "In ceremonial rites they each enjoy special privileges, have allotted duties to perform, segregated places of seating, the animal emblem as a name signature in common, and their own chiefs and council of three."[136] According to Harrington each phratry had a paramount leader, who had rather limited

[133] Harrington, 1913, p. 210.
[134] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[135] Harrington, 1913, p. 210; O.A., J.T.
[136] Speck, 1931, p. 76.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

Religious Assimilation

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NM17

D 888 1778

regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

D [684]

D 881 [841] [145]

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

D [582] 292

I S 881 262

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

D 841

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu- 837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are ● 582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62).

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage.

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215).

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78).

141.	Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−
142.	strongest					+						
143.	oldest										+	
144.	youngest						+					
145.	Polyandry					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
146.	Sororate — polygynous					+	+	+	−	−	−	+
147.	Sororate — successive			+		+	+	−	−	+	−	+
148.	Sororate — obligatory			+		•+	−			•+	−	−
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+		+	+	•	−	+	+	•
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+		+	+			+	+	+
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)		+	+			(+)	+	+
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
156.	by wife		+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+	+		−	−
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+				
160.	to any known degree			+		+			+	+	+	+
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	•	−	−	−	+
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	+	•	+	+
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+			+	+	+	−	−	−	+
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+	−		−	−
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−	−
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+	+
168.	Proportion of married women without children †											
169.	Average number of children in family			•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18-20	20
172.	Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-20		15-25	F30	20	25	25	18-21	17+ F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married		•	14-16		•	F24	20	20	20	16-21	17+ F20

BRS 587 857 586 582 836 538 848 886 885

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

588 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources
848 and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction
885 of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[1] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[2] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Tōōkseet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Tōōkwaa* round & *oozēēt* foot) the *Tshēēkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelāāooh*, and the *Tōōlpas* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skēēhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonāūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalāūhtekoo*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonāūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

[1] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.
[2] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See [illegible] W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rul[illegible] talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as man-i'-tu deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanquinity applied to deities and nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi-tapano'xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi-tapano'xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the

[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood."

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi-tapano'xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[2] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 169.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognised an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an
P 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each
D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in
D [582] [183] old times no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was
D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[p 51 (C)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother,
[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I
672 leave. The young man also says that the office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He
• [582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

Family Names

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[52 A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[52 A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

[p 52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[p.54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subdivisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

D 614 582

D [611]

D 124 614 582

[¶ 54(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small,
by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[90] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(c)-- Analyst]

[p 55 (A)]

000 796 all went to heaven. They have one religious festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons 624 796 whose business it is to appoint the time for holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

Marriage

582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me [614] that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

Succession of [Head] Chiefs

614 622 623 Upon the death of a head chief of the Turtle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM? Delaware NM?
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
● [582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
101 has lived among them. They are old Con-
162 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
131 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
Green Bay.